

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 5031

EXDIS

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, RH  
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA

1. SUMMARY: THE BISHOP MAINTAINS HIS SKEPTICISM ABOUT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WHICH HE SEES AS AN ATTEMPT BY THE UK AND US TO IMPOSE THE PF ON ZIMBABWE THROUGH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, HE DID ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SUBSTANCE OF A POSSIBLE NEW AGREEMENT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF A MEETING. HE FIRMLY RULED OUT HIS PARTICIPATION IN ANY MEETING HELD IN ZAMBIA. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING CHICKERAMA'S ADVICE, GRAHAM AND I AGAIN CALLED ON BISHOP MUZOREWA ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 25. WE PEGGED OUR VISIT TO MUZOREWA'S PUBLIC COMMENT THE PREVIOUS DAY THAT HE NEEDED TO KNOW MORE DETAILS ABOUT A CONFERENCE. WE AGAIN DESCRIBED WHY WE  
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THOUGHT IT WOULD BE IN HIS INTEREST TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT WHICH HE HIMSELF ACKNOWLEDGED WAS IMPERFECT AND ARRANGE FOR THE SHARING OF POWER WHICH HE RECOGNIZED HAD TO BE ACCOMPLISHED. A CONFERENCE COULD COMPLETE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT WHICH WERE TO BRING PEACE AND CREATE CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO HOLDING ELECTIONS. WE MADE A PLEA TO TAKE STEPS TO END THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE FROM THE WAR AS WELL AS FROM STARVATION WHICH WAS NOW BEGINNING TO BE REPORTED.

3. WE OUTLINED THE CHANGES IN THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT WHICH WE FELT MIGHT BRING AGREEMENT, AND WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE AS MUCH IN HIS INTEREST AS THAT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE BISHOP ASKED ABOUT MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND WE REVIEWED LORD CARVER'S PLAN IN GENERAL TERMS. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE CONCEPT OF UN PARTICIPATION POINTING OUT THAT THE FORCE WOULD BE MADE UP BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE PARTIES. THIS WOULD ALLOW THEM TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ABOUT WHICH COUNTRIES WOULD BE REPRESENTED. AN AFRICAN COUNTRY WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE INCLUDED BUT THIS MIGHT BE SOMEONE LIKE GHANA, FOR INSTANCE. THE BISHOP NODDED.

4. I DID NOT GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BISHOP LISTENED WITH MUCH CARE OR INTEREST TO OUR PRESENTATION. HIS MOOD IS ONE OF RESENTMENT AND UNCERTAINTY AND WHEN WE FINISHED HE SIMPLY SUMMED IT UP BY SAYING IT WAS EVIDENT THAT WE SIMPLY WISHED TO IMPOSE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. GRAHAM NOTED THAT HE HAD SUPPORTED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL LAST YEAR, BUT HE REPLIED THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED SINCE THEN. WE DESCRIBED THE CHANGES IN THAT PROPOSAL AS A RESULT OF THE MEETINGS IN MALTA AND DAR AND FOR THE FIRST TIME HE BECAME INTERESTED IN THE MECHANICS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD. HE ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS BUT NEVER ABANDONED HIS DISTASTE FOR ANYTHING WHICH IMPLIED A CHANGE FROM THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT.

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5. HE ASKED A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PROPOSED MEETING. WERE WE SUGGESTING THAT THE PARTIES COME AS A SINGLE UNIT REPRESENTING THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OR AS INDIVIDUAL PARTIES? HE WONDERED, IF IT WERE THE LATTER, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF ONE OF THE PARTIES WAS NOT PRESENT. WE SAID THE SIX PRINCIPALS WOULD BE INVITED AND THEY COULD COME IN ANY CAPACITY THAT THEY DESIRED. GRAHAM POINTED OUT THAT ATTENDING A MEETING SEPARATELY COULD PREJUDICE THE INTEGRITY OF THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT WHICH WE UNDERSTOOD HE, REV. SITHOLE AND MR. SMITH WISHED TO PRESERVE INTACT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE PENDING RESULTS OF THE MEETING. THE BISHOP ASKED ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE DATE. WOULD THAT BE MAINTAINED? WE ANSWERED THAT THAT WAS UP TO THE PARTIES. OUR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL HAD BEEN FOR A TRANSITION PERIOD OF THREE TO SIX MONTHS. IT WAS STILL FOUR MONTHS BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR. SURELY THE POSTPONEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR TWO MONTHS, IF THAT WAS NECESSARY, WOULD BE WORTH THE PRICE OF BRINGING PEACE TO THE COUNTRY. THE BISHOP FIRED BACK THAT PEACE WOULD BE BROUGHT QUICKER THAN WE EXPECTED. THE CEASEFIRE PROGRAM WAS GOING MUCH BETTER FOLLOWING THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING MSANA. WE WOULD SEE A MAJOR CHANGE WITHIN THREE WEEKS. GRAHAM THEN DESCRIBED "OPTION B" AS ONE OF THE POSSIBILITIES WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. THE PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENDUM ON THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT AND TRANSITION CONSTITUTION

COULD ENABLE INDEPENDENCE TO BE ACHIEVED BY THE DECEMBER 31 DATE.

6. GRAHAM NOTED THAT ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WE WOULD HAVE TO FACE IN ORGANIZING A MEETING WAS ITS LOCATION. WE WERE ANXIOUS THAT IT BE AS CONVENIENT AS POSSIBLE AND PRIVATE FROM THE PRESS. MUZOREWA, WHO APPEARED ANXIOUS TO GET ON TO OTHER BUSINESS, DISCOUNTED THE DIFFICULTIES OF KEEPING THE PRESS OUT AND QUICKLY ADDED THAT IF THERE WAS ANY THOUGHT OF HOLDING THE MEETING IN ZAMBIA, "YOU CAN COUNT ME OUT." HE REPEATED TWO OR THREE TIMES THAT HE WOULD NOT ATTEND THE MEETING IN ZAMBIA. BOTSWANA, HE SAID, WAS POSSIBLE, OR MALAWI OR MAURITIUS, BUT NOT ZAMBIA, MOZAMBIQUE OR TANZANIA.

7. COMMENT: THE BISHOP IS FULLY AWARE THAT THE RESULT OF ANY  
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SUCCESSFUL MEETING WOULD BE TO DIMINISH HIS AUTHORITY AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. FURTHERMORE, HE TRUSTS SMITH NO MORE THAN THE PF AND IS APPREHENSIVE OF A DEAL WITH NKOMO WHICH WOULD LEAVE HIM IN A SUBSIDIARY POSITION. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, HE CAN PERSEVERE WITH THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT, HE FEELS HE CAN FORCE HIS WILL AFTER JANUARY 1. FINALLY, THE BISHOP BELIEVES THAT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT IN TERMS OF TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY FROM WHITES TO AFRICANS WHICH CAME OUT OF A MEETING WOULD CAST HIM IN THE ROLE OF AN UNCLE TOM WHO HAD BEEN WILLING TO SETTLE FOR TOO LITTLE AND FURTHER UNDERCUT HIS DETERIORATING POLITICAL POSITION. THE ONLY GOOD ARGUMENT FOR GOING TO A MEETING FROM HIS PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW WOULD BE TO RELIEVE THE INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND TRY TO SHOW THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS THE INTRANSIGENT PARTIES. FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, HE IS NOT LIKELY TO BE VERY COOPERATIVE AT ANY MEETING HE ATTENDS.  
EDMONDSON

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